

# THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF REVOLUTIONS AND REVOLUTIONARIES

From Anarchism to Zhou Enlai

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*Political Ideologies*



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authoritarian system by another. Anarchism's philosophical point of departure is that human beings are basically good and that if they are freed from compulsory laws, arbitrary rule and centralized economies, they will create humane harmony and social solidarity.

The philosophy of anarchism is quite ancient. It ranges from the biblical prophet Samuel's criticism of the monarchy, through the Greek Stoic philosopher Zeno's critique of the Platonic Republic, to the medieval Christian sects that fought both political and papal rule. However, anarchism is known mainly as a modern movement, beginning during the FRENCH REVOLUTION. The GIRONDINS reviled their radical foes, the JACOBINS, with the title "anarchists" because of their desire to continue the revolution even after Louis XVI had been deposed. The bourgeois revolution actually opposed two typical anarchist demands: decentralization and the abandonment of property. The revolution, which had begun as a rebellion against the monarchist, feudal, ecclesiastical status quo, ended up with a centralized government which established the power of the bourgeois.

The French Revolution provided images, legends and myths for the anarchist tradition of the 19th and 20th centuries, supporting the idea that political and social structures are destructible, that monarchies and aristocracies can be removed with a wave of the hand and that no constitutional structure is eternal if it is confronted by a series of violent acts.

The anarchist tradition held up for emulation the SANS-CULOTTES, who had acted against the Girondins, the Jacobins and the revolutionary dictatorship in 1793: Jacques Rous, the leader of the most violent group, the Enrages, contributed to later anarchist practice with his example of how social justice can be represented by the direct action of the masses in the streets. He and HEBERT despaired of ROBESPIERRE and executed him with a guillotine that they themselves helped set up. In 1793, William Godwin in England published a book which was the first modern formulation of anarchism. He presented an anarchist model of small autonomous communities which share their property in a communal way. The abolishment of tyranny and of accumulated property would not take place through revolutionary action or social reform but by spreading the idea of justice and using enlightened methods to persuade individuals of the necessity of free arrangements.

Anarchism inherited several elements of the French revolution: terror as a form of political activity, republican virtue as a form of political education and conspiracy as a life style. GRACCHUS BABEUF's "Conspiracy des Equax" of 1793 served as a mythic model for the 19th-century anarchists. The means Babeuf advocated and his call for the elimination of private property were anarchistic, but he believed in a strong state—a dictatorship—and the nationalization of the means of production. This was typical of the dialectics of many ideas of the French Revolution, which were anarchistic at first, yet turned statist and centralist as they succeeded and became established.

After Babeuf, FILIPPO BUONAROTTI was the prototype of the professional saboteur. He founded secret societies in Switzerland and Belgium, as well as in France after the 1830 revolution. Babeuf, Buonarotti and LOUIS AUGUSTE BLANQUI—who spent 40 of his 76 years in prison—were depicted by later generations as the personification of revolution in the 19th century.

According to James Joll, a historian of anarchism, three

**ANARCHISM** Anarchism is a philosophical concept, a political belief and a social movement with the goal of a stateless society, free of legal, political or economic rule, which can be attained only through ceaseless revolutionary actions. Anarchists believe in revolutionary social change but are wary of organized political revolutions for fear that they may merely replace one

myths of the French revolution became an integral part of anarchist belief: that a violent revolution is possible; that the next revolution would be a true social one and would not merely replace one ruling class by another; and that this future revolution would arrive only when a revolutionary conspiracy of devoted anarchists would arise from the existing society. From this point on, revolutions would be made not only in philosophical essays but also in the streets.

While the Enrages, Babeuf and Buonarrotti provided examples of the violent revolutionary climate of anarchist terror, utopian socialists from Charles Fourier to Saint-Simon and Godwin discussed the future of society. Their ideal visions of a new world, and their image of a rational, peace-loving sort of anarchist, became part of the philosophy from which modern anarchism arose. The futurist communities of Fourier, the *phalansteries*, typified the element of cooperation. Saint-Simon criticized the revolutionaries for merely improving the mechanism of the state.

A revolutionary philosophy justifying radical change was proposed by the Young Hegelians. In the revolutionary dialectics they developed, all conflict, both political and class-based, contributes to a new synthesis of history. Max Stirner, following Feuerbach, claimed that the state would be replaced by a union of egoists and recommended violent means for realizing individual rights. The conclusion of another Young Hegelian, KARL MARX, was that the class war would end in the dictatorship of the proletariat, while PROUDHON reached anarchist conclusions instead.

It was Proudhon who provided the crucial motivation for modern anarchism. In 1840 he adopted the term "anarchism" in his essay, "What is property?" He did not believe that all rule should be abolished, advocating instead political federalism and economic "mutualism," which would restrict the authority of the central mechanisms of power through free local organizations. The ideal society requires two nonviolent revolutions: one against the present economic order and the other against the present political order. Instead of a mass revolution there must be a revolution of cells (tiny groups). At the time of the bourgeois REVOLUTIONS OF 1848 in Paris, Berlin and Vienna, Proudhon concluded, "We made a revolution without an idea."

The fathers of modern anarchism were MIKHAIL BAKUNIN (1814–1876) and Prince PETER KROPOTKIN (1842–1921). Bakunin gave anarchism a collectivist direction, claiming that the revolution must be a spontaneous mass rebellion rather than an act of a political leadership with armed forces. A military revolution would lead to a class dictatorship, an organized oligarchy and a strong state. Repression from above must be countered by terror from below—that is, propaganda through action. Bakunin's follower, SERGEI NECHAIEV, came to more nihilistic conclusions: all means are legitimate for destroying corrupted states.

Wilhelm Weitling, in his book, *Guarantees of Harmony and Freedom*, combined the idea of the inevitable revolution with anarchist and Christian beliefs. As a revolutionary of the 1840s, he influenced the anarchists directly. Bakunin, whom he met in Switzerland, was impressed by Weitling's book, in which he wrote that revolutions would arise "either through harsh physical force or through spiritual power, or both. The revolutions will no longer be bloody." Bakunin thought that true revolutions are made by those who have nothing to lose. He claimed that the

new ethics of revolution "can only be effectively taught among the bewildered masses swarming in our great cities and plunged into the utmost boundless misery."

Most anarchists consider themselves socialists, but since they also conceive of themselves as revolutionaries they refuse to act through parliamentary legislation or social reform. Anarchism appeared as an organized movement in Western Europe in the 1850s and 1860s. The First International (see INTERNATIONAL, FIRST), which was founded in 1864, served as a battlefield in the conflict between Marxist and anarchist groups. In 1883 the anarchists founded their own International, and its first congress was held in Amsterdam in 1907.

Kropotkin opposed the capitalist régime, advocating the founding of free Communist cells that would coordinate the means of production and consumption. This combination of anarchism and communism supported economic decentralization, which was supposed to come after the state would totally disappear in a popular revolution. From the 1880s, anarchism became more and more communistic. The Russian writer Leo Tolstoy, on the other hand, completely rejected communism, which he believed to be based on centralism, just as he rejected revolution and violence. Tolstoy's variety of anarchism was a combination of a spiritual revolution and non-cooperation with state institutions—the army, the courts and the administration. Henry David Thoreau in the 19th century, and MAHATMA GANDHI in the 20th, also favored civil disobedience over violent revolution.

In the 1880s, there was a crisis in Marxism which led to three new directions: EDUARD BERNSTEIN's parliamentary revisionism, VLADIMIR LENIN's party cadre system, and GEORGES SOREL's revolutionary violence. Sorel, a French theoretician who combined individualistic anarchism with organized revolutionary syndicalism in both France and Italy, rejected the idea of a political revolution. Instead, he advocated a permanent rebellion in the form of a proletarian general strike. He believed that revolutions stem from power and necessitate terror, while rebellions stem from freedom and necessitate violence. This philosophy of violence infiltrated the foundations of the revolutionary syndicalism advocated by fascism at the beginning of its career.

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries anarchists preached terror and the assassination of government representatives. Direct violent action replaced political and social revolution. This philosophy led to the assassination of French president M.F. Sadi Carnot in 1894, Empress Elizabeth of Austria in 1898, King Humbert I of Italy in 1900 and American president William McKinley in 1901, as well as assassinations of other figures in parliaments and public institutions.

It is thus not surprising that anarchists got the image of terrorists, although actually most anarchists were not terrorists. Anarchists' activities covered a wide range, from direct action, sabotage, political strikes and general strikes to civil disobedience, pacifism, anti-parliamentarianism and anti-patriotism. Anarchic terrorism flourished in an atmosphere of radical nationalism, a society of minorities and economic exploitation. The anarchists generally refused to organize themselves into political parties, and anarchism never became an organized mass movement like socialism. The essence of anarchism opposes organization. To spread their ideas, the anarchists made use of propaganda, demonstrations, manifestos and strikes, mainly in workers' unions. Anarchists and communists often strode arm in arm in

revolutions and civil wars, but the Soviet revolution considered anarchism counterrevolutionary. Anarchist quarters in Moscow were shelled in April 1918 on orders from TROTSKY, the anarchist leaders were imprisoned and their activities were suppressed. PRIMO DE RIVERA's Spain also suppressed anarchist organizations, such as the Federacion Anarquista Iberica and Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo.

Anarchists and communists both sided with the Republicans against General FRANCISCO FRANCO in the Spanish civil war of 1936-1939, but the hostility between them led to the dissolution of their alliance, the repression of the anarchists and Franco's victory. In France and Italy, the anarchists left their stamp on revolutionary syndicalism. Anarchist unions such as the Unione Anarchica Italiana and Unione Sindicale Italiana were made illegal in the MUSSOLINI period.

Unlike European anarchism, which was associated in one way or another with revolution, American anarchism was not associated with revolution at all. From prominent figures such as EMMA GOLDMAN and ALEXANDER BERKMAN, who returned disappointed from visits to the land of the Bolshevik Revolution, to the radical students' movements in the 1960s, the American version of protest movements was always more liberal than anarchist.

#### FROM THE WRITINGS OF KARL MARX

- A specter is haunting Europe—the specter of Communism.

- This history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggle.

- Hegel says somewhere that all great events and personalities in world history reappear in one fashion or another. He forgot to add: the first time as tragedy, the second as farce.

- Capitalist production begets, with the inexorability of a law of nature, its own negation.

- In proportion, as the antagonism between the classes vanishes, the hostility of one nation to another will come to an end.

- The proletariat have nothing to lose but their chains.

- They have a world to win. Workers of the world, unite!

*The Communist Manifesto*—written with Friedrich Engels

- From each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs.

*Critique of the Gotha Program*

#### MARXISM

**Marxist Ideology.** FRIEDRICH ENGELS eulogized KARL MARX by saying, “Just as Darwin discovered the law of evolution in organic nature, so Marx discovered the law of evolution in human history.” Marx’s evolutionary approach to history led to revolutionary ideologies. Until Marx, philosophers had seen their role as merely interpreting history; the Marxists took on the role of revolutionizing it. What the Marxists took from their intellectual predecessors was not only a philosophy of history but also the practical conclusion of avoiding collaboration between the classes. This separated Marxism from SOCIALISM.

In their book, *The German Ideology* (1845–1846), Marx and Engels claimed that revolutions are cataclysmic leaps from one



means of production to another. A historical period is distinguished from the preceding one by the development of a new mode of production, which leads to a struggle between the class that represents the old order of the forces of production and the one that represents the new order. Engels wrote that "the final causes of all social changes and political revolutions are to be sought... in changes in the modes of production and exchange." The outcome of the "socialist revolution" will be equality between the old exploitative class and the new dominant class—that is, a classless society. Until then there will only be "bourgeois revolutions"—such as the British, American and French ones—which are motivated by the need for expansion of the new capitalist forces of production.

Revolutionary France in the 18th and 19th centuries was a laboratory of historical materialism. However, in contrast to Engels's interpretation, Marx did not consider France an arena for a socialist revolution. Rather, France's history served for him as a proof by *reductio ad absurdum* of the lack of class consciousness. The FRENCH REVOLUTION OF 1789 and the REVOLUTIONS OF 1848 as well as the PARIS COMMUNE, were a historical lesson and warning that economic conditions were not ripe for a socialist revolution.

Around 1848, Marx, as editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, wrote more about democratic radicalism than about proletarian revolutions. His conclusion—that the workers' movement must undergo a bourgeois revolution—was adopted by Russian Marxists in the early 20th century. Nevertheless, Marx's and Engels's political activities were clearly revolutionary: They joined the First INTERNATIONAL as "Bund der Kommunisten" and even wrote the *Communist Manifesto* for it, describing the proletariat as "the only revolutionary class."

**Historical Necessity Versus Philosophy of Action.** Around 1900, a crisis occurred among the European Marxists, with far-reaching implications for the first quarter of the 20th century. The growing awareness that Marxist predictions were not being fulfilled in practice led to the conclusion that there was some serious flaw in Marxist analysis in the guise of scientific socialism. The revolution had not yet arrived, in spite of the economic, political and sociological processes that were supposed to bring it about. The agents of modernization, such as progressive education, the universal right to vote and compulsory army service, which had been expected to lead to class consciousness and motivate revolutionary action among the proletariat, served instead as a means for national and cultural integration and as catalysts for the growth of patriotism and a retreat from anti-militarism. The non-arrival of the expected proletarian revolution, combined with the growing nationalist trends, were a severe shock to the Marxists. This led to two revisions in Marxism, whose common denominator was the goal of forming an egalitarian, classless society: EDUARD BERNSTEIN pointed out the possibility of realizing socialism by playing the rules of the parliamentary game, without a social revolution, while VLADIMIR LENIN strove to bring about the revolution through a revolutionary elite organized into party cadres. The view associated with Bernstein, known as revisionism, cast doubt on the inevitability of the socialist revolution.

KARL KAUTSKY and GEORGI PLEKHANOV further developed the Marxist view of the proletariat as a universal revolutionary class. They claimed that objective historical necessity requires

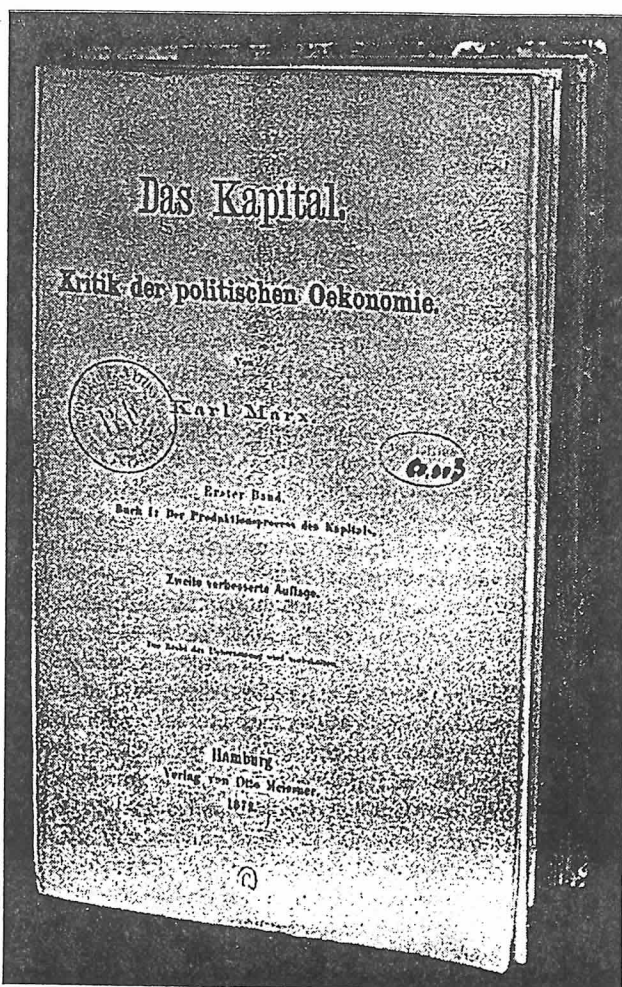
stages of developed capitalism and polarization of the classes. At a certain point in human evolution, due to the relations between the classes, the forces of production are faced with the decreasing absorptive capability of their products. This socio-economic contradiction creates social forces which are united in their revolutionary ideology, which brings down the old order and substitutes a new system of production. The revolutionary social order creates the social forces that will later bring it down; every revolution expands the base of the régime it sets up. The anti-feudal bourgeois revolution created the proletariat, which is the last revolutionary class.

If the economy is not yet ready for a revolution, no takeover of political power, such as that of Blanquism, will lead to the destruction of capitalism. There is no connection between objective economic laws and spontaneous violence, as illustrated by the JACOBIN dictatorship and the Paris commune. Revolutions, in Kautsky's view, are not one-shot aggressive acts, violent rebellions or civil wars, but the conscious takeover of political power by an organized proletariat when capitalism has reached a certain level of development. Here one can find the seeds of Kautsky's disagreement with Lenin. In contrast to Kautsky, who claimed that a Communist society would spring up as soon as the capitalist structure collapsed, the Bolsheviks believed that Russian Communism was a revolutionary transition stage, and that the Russia of 1919 was in one stage of this transformation.

Kautsky opposed the October RUSSIAN REVOLUTION OF 1917, rejecting Lenin's idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat. He based his view on Marx's opposition to the Bakunists' (see MICHAEL BAKUNIN) attempt to foment a Communist rebellion in 1873 in Spain, as well as Marx's attitude to the Paris Commune. Kautsky claimed that the Bolsheviks (see BOLSHEVIK PARTY), like the Jacobins, were trying to solve economic problems by mass terror, which they wrongly called the dictatorship of the proletariat. In 1875, Marx announced in the Gotha Program that between the capitalist and Communist society lies a period of revolutionary transformation from one to the other. Corresponding to this is a political transition period during which the state can be nothing other than the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat. In 1919, Kautsky wrote that if the dictatorship of the revolution was to continue in Russia it would end up in militarization, bureaucratization and totalitarian rule. Lenin, on the other hand, accused Kautsky and the leaders of the Second INTERNATIONAL of being revolutionaries in language but reformists in practice.

The activists, whose spokesmen were Labriola, Goldmann and GRAMSCI, held a "philosophy of action," rejecting the Plekhanovist view of historical inevitability. They believed that the combination of the historical situation and social consciousness could lead to changes in the world. Following Marx, they claimed that the motivating force of the socialist revolution is the alliance of the suffering proletariat and the intellectuals. Thus Gramsci called the Communist party "the intellectual collective." Revolutionary ideologies turn sociological explanations into political forces: Marxism tried to make a revolutionary class out of the suffering of individuals.

Lenin developed a new view of revolutionary Marxism that did not wait for economic conditions to be ripe. He claimed that the party must take advantage of revolutionary situations and direct revolutions. The failure of the RUSSIAN REVOLUTION OF 1905



Marx's *Das Kapital*, "second improved edition," 1877

repeated the failure of the REVOLUTIONS OF 1848 in Western Europe, leading to the conclusion that a strategy of "PERMANENT REVOLUTION" must be adopted: there must be a continual thrust from bourgeois revolutions to socialist ones.

LEON TROTSKY, who after 1917 became the People's Commissar for War, believed that the democratic revolution in Russia would lead to a social-democratic régime which would necessarily continue the revolutionary trend toward socialism. Since the bourgeoisie was weak, the revolution would have to be led by the proletariat and therefore it would not stop at the bourgeois stage. Russia's economic situation would cause the bourgeois revolution to turn into a socialist one immediately and the revolutionary trend would spread from Russia to all of Europe, and from there to the entire world. If this did not happen and socialism would remain confined to one country, the revolution would not be maintainable. In 1924, STALIN formulated the expression, "SOCIALISM IN ONE COUNTRY," which was directed against Trotsky and the idea of the "permanent revolution." However, when Russian Communism failed to expand the revolution, it did indeed become a static power.

Bolshevism represented an attempt to change an evolutionary theory into a revolutionary practice. It combined the revolutionary elements in Marxism with the unique conditions in Russia:

forced industrialization, Russification of the population, a party dictatorship and class terror as a transition stage between capitalism and socialism, state socialism, the collectivization of the peasants, the exile and destruction of the Kulaks and the adoption of Taylor's methods of "scientific" management. The Communist end was supposed to justify all the revolutionary means.

While Marxist ideology was mainly theoretical, the revolutionary Bolshevik doctrine became a political practice carried out by a military and police organization. The revolutionary effort was concentrated on destroying the remnants of the bourgeois class and constructing the foundations of a Communist society. However, the revolutionary transition stage turned into a totalitarian reality for 70 years of Bolshevism. Kautsky accused Lenin and the Bolsheviks of maintaining their own rule through terror. The dictatorship of the proletariat, which Marx had considered a postrevolutionary transition stage, had become a dictatorship of the party. The great danger of using revolutionary means was the establishment of the revolutionary force to the point of centralizing bureaucratic power, violence, terror and the army.

Trotsky and ROSA LUXEMBURG both believed that a hierarchical, centralist party of professional revolutionaries contradicted the fundamental Marxist principle that the working class can liberate itself without outside help. Luxemburg's uncompromising revolutionary activity and her criticism of the socialists' defection in 1914 turned her into the principal opponent of both the revisionists and the bureaucratic establishment of Russian Marxism. In the "reformism vs. revolution" debate, she took the position that there is no contradiction between reform, which is a means, and the struggle for political power, which is an end in itself. The essence of reform is different from that of revolution; reform is not a stage of revolution. Luxemburg's blind faith that workers are naturally revolutionaries led her to place revolutionary spontaneity above organized party activity.

**Marxism, Nationalism and Revolution.** The Soviet Union, which considered itself the spearhead of the international revolution, was actually a disguise for Russian nationalism. Marxism, as well as the Marxism-Leninism that followed it, examined nationalism from the viewpoint of historical relativism: an independent national state is a structural part of the bourgeois revolution and a precondition for the victory of democracy. The fundamental economic assumption of the two doctrines is that the bourgeoisie, in order to achieve full control of production, dominates the local market by uniting territories into a state. The two consider the formation of "bourgeois nations" to be a historically progressive step. However, modern developments have shown that imperialism cannot exist with colonialist exploitation.

The Austrian Marxists, especially OTTO BAUER and Karl Ranner, devoted a great deal of thought to the problem of nationalism from the viewpoint of the Communist revolution. The Bolsheviks claimed that internationalism is the continuation of nationalism. The demand for national and racial equality played a more crucial role than the struggle for Communism in worldwide Communist propaganda.

Lenin advocated expanding the revolutionary movement to the colonial world. The Soviet Union inflamed nationalist struggles, moving them from Europe to the Third World. The fact that rightist military regimes supported by the west were in control of

most of the countries of Asia and Africa left the revolutionary arena for the Russian Communists, who described themselves as the only effective alternative. After World War II, there was wide acceptance of the Soviet theory that socialism could spread throughout the world even during peacetime. This thesis was adopted at the same time as the competition with MAOISM for the leadership of the world socialist revolution.

**The Revolution after Leninism—the Revolutionary Phase of Soviet Marxism.** Many Marxists began to investigate postrevolutionary cultural, psychological and sociological issues, beginning in the 1930s. For example, the Frankfurt school, which combined the methods of Marx and Freud, used the Marxist view of the revolution as a starting point for diagnosing cultural and social conditions in which people lost their humanity in capitalism's "industrial culture." They aspired to formulate a critical theory that would expose the false consciousness of the proletariat. According to HERBERT MARCUSE, the proletariat has become part of the "one-dimensional society," which has lost its revolutionary imagination: the workers have become an inseparable part of the capitalist consciousness, which has neutralized the revolutionary option.

Maoism—the peasant's Marxism—is an ideological revolutionary branch that was adapted to the historical circumstances prevailing in China. The Maoists disagreed with the "orthodox" Chinese Marxists, who advocated the COMINTERN's conservative line and remained loyal to the Soviet strategy in which the revolution relies mainly on workers' strikes and rebellions in large industrial areas. In his 1940 article, "On New Democracy," Mao wrote that the Chinese revolution was essentially a peasant revolution relying on the peasants' demands, but the culture of the new democracy would develop under the leadership of the proletariat. At that time Mao's plan was similar to the first stage of Leninism: a peasantry led by the Communist party and a dictatorship of the proletariat. But soon, on the basis of the same internal logic that had prevailed in the Soviet revolution, the Chinese revolution as well turned into the totalitarian structure of a centralist, bureaucratic political power. In the Cultural Revolution (see GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION) of 1965 the radicals, led by Mao, tried to suppress the conservatives, who represented bourgeois ideology, especially in the universities.

The proletarian revolution is not only political but also cultural. When ANTONIO GRAMSCI, the leader of the COMMUNIST PARTY OF ITALY, analyzed the revolutions of the 19th century, he distinguished between "active rebellions," such as that of MAZZINI and "passive revolutions," such as that of Cavour, but claimed that both of them were necessary for post-1848 Europe. Gramsci did not consider a revolution to be a technical matter of taking over power.

The revolution is not proletarian and communistic because it destroys the institutions of the old régime, or because it calls its activists Communists, but because it liberates the existing productive forces and leads to the development of a society in which class distinction disappears. Forces must be found to transform the productive class from an instrument of suppression to an instrument of liberation. The role of the Communist party is to help liberate the proletariat, thus bringing the revolution closer.

György Lukács concentrated on explaining the revolutionary principle in theory and practice. For this purpose, he used the

word *totalität* to describe the facts of the world as a "concrete whole." In this view, the truth of the parts is to be found in the whole: the whole is the motor of the revolutionary principle. According to Lukács, Lenin's greatness was that he understood this at the time of the Bolshevik revolution. Lenin identified the revolutionary moment in all the events of his time, uniting all the details into a revolutionary socialist perspective.

In the 1950s and 1960s, the Soviets suppressed national and civil liberties in the countries under the "protection" of the "revolutionary homeland." Rebellions broke out in Hungary and Czechoslovakia and there was a renaissance of the concept and topic of revolution. It was no longer an issue for the proletariat but became the province of suppressed minorities such as students, blacks and the countries of the Third World. The NEW LEFT tried to renew "true communism"; for this purpose, Maoists, Trotskyites and others made use of the jargon of the universal anti-capitalist revolution in the style of the Third World. They claimed that the idea of a society's "ripeness for revolution" was a bourgeois invention and that a well-organized group could radically change social conditions in a "revolution here and now." They adopted the notion of Lukács, Marcuse and the Frankfurt school that the capitalist society is an indivisible whole and can only change as such. The idea of a total revolution that requires destroying all the existing institutions and ruling elites came from their dynamist, nihilist orientation to the present as detached from the past and the future.

**The Post Cold-War World.** The 1990s are witness to the postrevolutionary age of Marxism. The Soviet Union had disintegrated, giving up its revolutionary Communist ideology, its nationalist imperialism and its Eastern European satellites. The creator of this counterrevolution was Gorbachev, who did not learn the lesson taught by Alexis de Tocqueville in the 19th century—that a totalitarian revolution which begins to conduct reforms presages its own downfall. The idea of the revolution in Marxism thus returns to its starting point—from practice to theory.



**NIHILISM** Only in the revolutions of the 20th century were the concepts of nihilism as a philosophical category and as a political category joined. Whereas the original Greek concept of *nihil* (nothing, zero) was purely philosophical, modern nihilism has aesthetic, technological and totalitarian ramifications. Modern nihilism was formulated in 1799 by Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi, who considered nihilism a radical form of idealism. The Romantics turned it into an aesthetic category and during the course of the 19th century it was considered one of the social and political ramifications of atheism.

FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE represents a crossroads: nihilism is no longer identified with a philosophical approach, a literary movement or a political demand. Instead, it characterizes a whole civilization or a moment in its (modern) history—specifically, the death of God. At this modern consciousness, the “new Man” was born and he creates his world *ex nihilo*. Nietzsche’s basic assumption that the world is an aesthetic phenomenon places his aesthetics at the center of his revolutionary philosophy. One basic element of Nietzsche’s revolution is his philosophic style of exposure as formulated by the genealogy of morals, which sought to destroy all the norms and conventions accepted in the Judeo-Christian world and the classical heritage of the west. Another is his historicist nihilist method, which becomes the starting-point for the reorientation of philosophy. Nietzsche’s affirmative claims—the will to power, the superman, self-overcoming and the eternal recurrence—are necessary counterpoints to his nihilism.

Both the Janus-like nihilism and the will to power profoundly influenced cultural criticism at the beginning of the 20th century and provided a model for the “new Man.”

When the “new Man” rebelled against history and the traditional criteria of good and evil, truth and falsehood, he became the midwife of his own world. Modern Man attempted paradoxically to change himself. The FRENCH REVOLUTION in the 18th century, the ideologies of the 19th century and the political myths of the 20th century constituted a revolutionary proclamation that human beings were ready to recreate their own humanity, which means to annihilate the “historic man.” The criticism of European culture at the end of the 19th century was transformed, sometimes directly and sometimes indirectly, into radical political criticism that questioned the basic assumptions of European democracy. In the end it contributed to the undermin-

ing of democracy and the rise of totalitarian powers. The ideological development and political history of Europe in the early 20th century included a unique intellectual trend that characterized its revolutionary state of mind and reflected a nihilist-totalitarian syndrome.

**Russian Nihilism.** Russian nihilism was born out of the stagnation in governmental reform that followed the emancipation of the serfs in 1861. As the Russian INTELLIGENTSIA despaired of a victory for constitutionalism, its younger generation turned more and more to a conspiratorial POPULISM, the combination of a small elite of free-thinking leaders at the head of a massive, axe-wielding peasant revolt. The aim of this revolt would be the destruction not only of the autocracy but of all institutions of society—religion, the family, property—all to be replaced by free and critically thinking individuals coming together on the basis of equality and mutual aid inspired by the example of the Russian village commune. In this sense, nihilism was a Slavophile reaction against the western-style constitutionalism that underlay the thinking of ALEXANDER HERZEN and NIKOLAI OGAREV—a reaction of the “sons” of the 1860s against the “fathers” of the 1840s and 1850s.

The term “nihilism” was first applied to the attitudes of the young intelligentsia by Turgenev, who used it as a pejorative in his novel, *Fathers and Sons*. For some of its advocates, nihilism was indeed a truly Russian expression of “the passion of the Russian mind; which goes to extremes in all its conclusions.... Carrying things to extremes is the characteristic element of our history.” Russian nihilism, however, was not a belief in nothing, an apathy to existing order, as exemplified by the character of Raskolnikov in Dostoevsky’s *Crime and Punishment*. On the contrary, it was a passionate hatred of the existing order and a determination to substitute for it a freer and more universally just society. In the eyes of nihilists, it was Chernyshevsky’s *What Is to be Done?* that portrayed their Rousseauan outlook that humans were meant to be free and equal but are shackled by the imperfections of society. The peculiarly Russian element in nihilism was perhaps its turn to conspiratorial organization and mass political violence as an integral element of its ideology—the only way, in their eyes, of achieving total social reform.

While Chernyshevsky’s writings, and in particular their advocacy of independent social organizations: student communes, artisan associations, peasant unions, etc., provided an inspiration for the practical activities of the younger intelligentsia, it was the focus on the individual advocated by DMITRI PISAREV and by the editors of the *Russkoe slovo* that captured their imaginations. The nihilists were focused on the strong, uninhibited and independent thinker. Their ideal was the person capable of survival in the Darwinian survival of the fittest.

Although nihilism was much discussed in the literary criticism of the 1860s and after, it did not give direct birth to any influential organizations. Its emphasis on individualism was too strong for this. Nevertheless, there is a clear root of intellect that leads from the rebellious all-criticizing individualism of the nihilist writers of *Russkoe slovo* to the anarchism of BAKUNIN’s followers and successors. At the same time, nihilism nourished the concept of a revolutionary elite leading the “benighted masses” and thus was one of the cornerstones of Russian Jacobinism as personified in NECHAEV, TKACHEV and ultimately LENIN.

**Totalitarian Nihilism.** Over and above "nihilism" and "totalitarianism" as such, is an additional dialectical phenomenon: the nihilist mentality, whether from inner compulsion or immanent logic, is driven to accept totalitarian patterns of behavior which are characterized by extreme dynamism. The philosophy of activism, violence and dynamism thus typifies cultural protest and at the same time gives content to political revolts: dynamic nihilism is anchored in the aesthetic absolute of the totalitarian mentality.

GEORGES SOREL, Filippo Tommaso Marinetti, VLADIMIR MAYAKOVSKY, Wyndham Lewis and Ernst Jünger initiated this nihilist-totalitarian revolution. As cultural critics, they brought about an "intellectual revolution" according to the concept of Stuart Hughes. These "anti-intellectual" intellectuals revolted against the Enlightenment and gave political myth absolute primacy. Glorification of conflict as the structure of reality shaped the new type of authentic man. Modern technology, which they admired, provided the means of making revolutionary order out of chaos and gave them a new Romantic myth serving the politics of violence. This nihilist style was shaped by radical nationalism or mythical socialism, or a combination of the two in the form of National Socialism.

In his early book, *The Revolution of Nihilism* (1939), Herman Rauschning examined National Socialism as a dynamist philosophy without a doctrine. Nazism, in his view, is absolute liberation from the past, action for its own sake, a process of destruction which must develop, according to its own internal logic, into totalitarian tyranny. Thus, by a necessary paradox, "political nihilism" turned into a political religion in three totalitarian régimes—FASCISM, National Socialism and Bolshevism (see BOLSHEVIK PARTY). Ernst Bloch, the philosopher of the utopia in the 20th century, claimed in his book, *The Principle of Hope*, that the nihilistic inspiration common to the totalitarian mentalities of both the radical right and left is "action for its own sake, which can simultaneously lead to the affirmation of LENIN and pave the way for MUSSOLINI." Twelve years after Rauschning's book was published, Albert Camus further developed his thesis in *L'Homme Revolte*: unlimited freedom leads to unlimited despotism. The shortest way to negating everything is affirming everything. The year Camus's book was published, 1951, also saw the publication of J.L. Talmon's *The Rise of Totalitarian Democracy*, which claimed that it is not far from perfection-seeking anarchism to revolutionary centralism. The association between nihilism, totalitarianism and technology is one of the key issues of the 20th century. The most extreme manifestation of this association was the Holocaust, when 6 million Jews were annihilated by the Nazi machine.

In spite of the clear distinction which must be made between Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union, we have witnessed the major role played by engineers in these two revolutionary régimes. In both régimes, the engineers were attracted not by ideological content but by the totalitarian patterns in the nihilization of the old society and the construction of a new one.

## SOCIALISM

**The Varieties of Socialism.** The different varieties of socialism can be classified according to their attitude to revolution—from Social Democracy, which seeks to improve the social conditions of life within the existing capitalist order, through reforms, legislation and education, to Communist socialism, which seeks to destroy capitalism by revolutionary means. When MARX and ENGELS formulated their party's manifesto in 1848, they intentionally chose the word "communism"—which expresses the idea of the revolutionary struggle—in order to distinguish their views from "socialism." There is a schematic distinction between modern socialism, which is "scientific," and the earlier socialism, which was "utopian": the distinction should be between revolutionary and evolutionary socialism. Communist or Marxist socialism is the revolutionary branch of 19th- and 20th-century socialism. Before that socialism was liberal, reformist, utopian, constitutional, experimental or parliamentary.

Socialism is a social ideology which seeks human justice, social solidarity and a decrease in the inequality between people. The word "socialism" reflects the emphasis on social relations, as opposed to "liberalism," which emphasizes the individual. Socialism is a constant striving for a more just society—that is, a society in which people's social tendency has more weight than their individualist tendency. Socialism's point of departure is thus revolutionary with respect to human nature.

The heralds of socialism were many and varied, and scholars tend to list them in an order which reflects their interpretive perspective. Some scholars note that the first modern use of the word "socialism" occurred in 1826, in Robert Owen's *Cooperative Magazine*, while others claim that the word was first used in 1832 by a Saint-Simonist in the French journal *Le Globe*. But movements with a socialist flavor existed at least since the Peasants' Rebellion in 1525 under the leadership of THOMAS MÜNZER, the ANABAPTIST rebellions, such as that in Münster in 1534, and the civil wars in England in 1642–1652, which produced the DIGGERS under the leadership of Gerrard Winstanley. Radical movements of the CROMWELL revolution, such as the LEVELLERS, were more rebellious than revolutionary.

The socialist utopias of the Renaissance were essentially rev-

olutionary texts, calling for the radical construction of an ideal society with new human beings. Such a revolutionary change in human nature is a condition for a perfect socialist society in which all the details of people's lives are shaped in a total manner. Thomas More's *Utopia* (1516) is a social critique of property differences and the eviction of the farmers from their land; More advocates democratic socialism. Tommaso Campanella's *Civitas Solis* (1623) describes a Communist sort of life. In Francis Bacon's *The New Atlantis* (1627), on the other hand, it is science that solves social problems. The utopia as a literary genre considered itself a microcosm of human society as a whole.

The idea of revolution had not yet arisen in the millenarist movements and the utopian literature. Their notions were sentimental, and they maintained the model of early Christianity, which advocated a poor man's socialism. Not until the 18th century was there a development of capitalism, an accumulation of wealth and an organization of the working class with a revolutionary consciousness. It was only the combination of the political consciousness of the FRENCH REVOLUTION and the social change initiated by the industrial revolution that created modern socialism with its revolutionary branches—namely MARXISM and ANARCHISM.

**Socialism and the French Revolution.** At the time of the FRENCH REVOLUTION the "social problem" arose as an ideological issue, not a moral one. Previously 18th-century Enlightenment thinkers had discussed the philosophical and ethical aspects of the problem: Mably and Morelly wrote about utopian socialism, while Jean-Jacques Rousseau, in his *Discourse on the Origin and Foundations of Inequality among Men* (1755), claimed that the growth of property rights was responsible for the decline of civilization. In Rousseau's view, the egalitarian natural situation of Man was replaced by a political situation in which the excess privileges of the rich were established by law. The laws protecting property and allowing economic exploitation made the rich a strong political force. This revolutionary social analysis of Rousseau's was not adopted by the initiators of the French Revolution, who chose to make their revolution bourgeois rather than socialist.

The Marxist interpretation is that the French Revolution was a political one, which established subjective will rather than a socioeconomic revolution, because France's pre-industrial character prevented the development of a working class. In the absence of the appropriate economic conditions, political terror was the only means available to the revolution. Marx believed that the French Revolution was a bourgeois political revolution of the civil society, which had separated itself from the political state. The French Revolution's contribution to socialism was thus the fact that it constituted a structural and mental stage which paved the way for the next stage—the socialist revolution.

The French constitution of 1793, which was the most socialist of the revolution's constitutions, was never actualized. GRACCHUS BABEUF aspired to bring it about, and for this purpose he sought to establish a dictatorship of the Parisian workers. The "*Conspiration des Equaux*" of 1793 was accomplished through organized revolutionary means. It was the first to reveal the radical socialism at the margins of the revolution, although this was not its central trend. Babeuf was the originator of the concept of the proletariat as a revolutionary force. The French Revolution did not actualize socialism as a systematic social movement, but it



developed the opposition between the rich and the poor into a political struggle for the first time. This was the first time that maximum prices were established, food hoarding limited, and exorbitant prices forbidden. But the revolutionaries who were busy abolishing the feudal order considered their goal to be the expansion of property rights. Babeuf's movement did not become a popular revolution, because the urban proletariat was weak and small in numbers. Nevertheless, the revolution paved the way for the prolonged social struggles in 19th-century Europe out of which modern socialism developed.

In the manifesto *On the Middle Class and the Nation* which Alexis de Tocqueville wrote in 1847 for the French Parliament, he predicted a revolutionary change which would lead to a demand for abolishing excess property rights. The right to property was the last barricade of the old political world: "There is reason to believe that the struggle among political parties will soon become a struggle between the haves and the have nots. The arena will be property." At the same time that de Tocqueville was writing about socialism as a modern "slave rebellion," Marx was reading the final proofs of the *Communist Manifesto*.

**The Industrial Revolution as a Turning Point.** The intensive social changes brought about by the industrial revolution—such as urbanization, modernization and the growth of the proletariat—led to a hatred of technology, which was reflected in such acts as the destruction of machines by the Luddites in the 1810s; the growth of a utopian socialist literature; and an increase in the revolutionary consciousness of the working class, which was accompanied by the development of revolutionary socialism, otherwise known as Marxism.

The new social problems associated with urbanization and industrialization were attributed to the acquisitive character of private ownership. This encouraged 19th-century socialist thinkers to move from the political to the economic realm. The French Revolution's failure to reshape human relations by political means led to a renewed interest in society, shifting the emphasis from event to process, and from making political revolutions to understanding economic systems, which are non-revolutionary by nature. Postrevolutionary disappointment led people to turn their backs on the political side of reforms and to concentrate on the problems of inequality, poverty, ignorance, education and social conditions such as health, pensions, working hours and unemployment. These were the problems that made it necessary to maintain a stubborn socialist struggle, far from the spotlights of revolution.

Utopian socialism claimed that changing from private to collective ownership and organizing the community into voluntary unions could solve a considerable number of social problems. In contrast with 18th-century socialism, which was based on the understanding of natural laws, utopian socialism relied on intellectual understanding, moral values, interclass fraternity and practical economic experiments in the form of socialist communities. The utopias were not programs for a general reorganization of society, nor did they associate themselves with any popular or proletarian movement for the realization of their visions. The social principles shared by Saint-Simon, Fourier and Owen were opposition to competition, suspicion of politics and belief in communitarianism and creativity. All three supported socialization in education, economic planning and cooperation in behavior, while attacking inequality and demanding restrictions on

property rights. They did not, however, believe in a proletarian revolution against the bourgeois state. The economist Jerome Blanqui, in his description of the beginnings of political economics (1839), was the first to call them "utopian socialists," a name which was quickly adopted by Marx and Engels.

**Revolution of the Intellectuals.** Shades of the French Revolution could be detected in the REVOLUTIONS OF 1848 in Europe—the "revolution of the intellectuals," as it was called by the historian L.B. Namier. The utopias of the mid-19th century, which sought to construct the Heavenly City, added a collectivist element to the individualism which characterized 18th-century thought, and they transmitted this new element to the nationalist and socialist movements of their time. An important revolutionary in the 1848 events was AUGUSTE BLANQUI, who gave his name to the radical revolutionary trend of Blanquism. This trend, which involved great humanistic fervor, extended from the radical revolutionary groups—the *Enragés*, the Hébertistes and Babeuf—and the secret societies of the CARBONARI, through the neo-Jacobean movements—such as Young Europe, the *Amis de la Verite*, and the *Amis de Peuple*—to the early republican movement, the ideology of revolutionary SYNDICALISM, and the Social-Democratic and Communist parties.

Socialism developed differently in 19th-century England—more practically than ideologically. An empirical social trend developed gradually, from Locke's theory of natural rights, Ricardo's *Homo Oeconomicus*, Charles Hall's nationalization of agrarian socialism, theories of surplus value and class struggle, Thomas Hodgkin's labor theory of values, John Gray's circulation theory and William Thompson's iron law of wages, to the utopian socialist ideas of Robert Owen, the greatest figure of English socialism.

From 1830 to 1848, for the first time in the history of English socialism, the CHARTIST movement combined political action, class consciousness, legislative change and social work. At the same time the first socialist international organization was founded—the Society of Fraternal Democrats. In 1884, Sidney Webb and George Bernard Shaw in London founded the Fabian Society, which rejected the revolutionary paradigm of the class war. They fought poverty and want, as well as the exploitation and selfishness that stem from acquisitiveness. They believed that the historical necessity of the transition to socialism was not solely the responsibility of the working class, and that it was important to persuade all the political parties to join the struggle for gradual socialist reform. Consequently, they emphasized activity on the municipal level and in the trade unions, and they played an important role in forming the Labour Party and developing the idea of the welfare state.

In Germany, socialism was more abstract and theoretical than in France and England, due to the conservative structure of German society and the lack of an organized working class. LASALLE, a socialist and nationalist, demanded cooperation between the proletariat and the state. In 1863 he succeeded in founding the first independent labor party, the *Allgemeiner Deutscher Arbeiterverein*. German socialism became a powerful revolutionary force in the Second INTERNATIONAL, which was established in 1889. Nevertheless, the German socialist movement was severely persecuted, and Bismarck's *socialistengesetz* of 1878–1890 prevented it from growing. Later, German democratization and economic growth made the Social-Democratic

Party one of the strongest forces in the country. The most serious threat to Marx's revolutionary system was the democratic evolutionism proclaimed by EDUARD BERNSTEIN in 1889. This reformist socialism combined Fabian and Marxist ideas, claiming that the situation of the working class could be improved gradually without a social or economic revolution. Although the party remained loyal to KAUTSKY's conservative revolutionary line, its practical policies became more and more revisionistic.

In France and Italy, the development of socialism in the late 19th century led to the formation of the Syndicalist movement, while in England it led to trade-unionism. Whereas the English trade unions were primarily interested in improving the laborers' wages and working conditions, the Syndicalists had revolutionary educational aspirations. Syndicalism was a special sort of revolutionary socialism which was not based on historical determinism or economic mechanism, as Marxism was, but rather on the direct action of the workers, as well as political general strikes. Militant streams in French and Italian revolutionary Syndicalism also led to the beginnings of FASCISM.

The socialist movement in 19th-century Russia formed the basis for a wave of revolutionary anti-czarist activity. It began with the liberal socialism of thinkers such as HERZEN and LAVROV, which later divided into various streams. The Social-Democratic Party, which was founded by PLEKHANOV in 1898, was Marxist, while the SOCIAL REVOLUTIONARY PARTY, despite its name, opposed revolution of the Marxist variety. A hybrid of socialism and Jacobinism was first tried in the 20th century, during the BOLSHEVIK Revolution. According to LENIN's definition, a Social-Democrat is a Jacobean who has adopted socialism. Lenin claimed that in the 20th century it was impossible to attain a just régime, as the Jacobean had sought in their time, without public ownership of the means of production and direction of the economy. Seventy years of Communism in Russia proved that there is still a wide gap between the enlightened, universal ideas of 19th- and 20th-century socialism and the distortion of these ideas in a totalitarian, bureaucratic, nationalistic historical experiment.

**Universalism versus Particularism.** World War I was a historic crossroads for the encounter between socialism and nationalism. The Social-Democratic parties had to choose between the party and the state, between the fraternity of the international proletariat and patriotism. They chose the nation rather than the proletariat. Lenin refused to play by the rules of the imperialist war; the socialist parties of the Allies believed that the war would free Russia from czarism, while the socialist parties of the Entente considered the war a struggle for the right to self-definition. One of the most important results of the war in the socialist camp was the outbreak of the Bolshevik Revolution. The German version of the revolution, the SPARTAKIST movement, was quickly suppressed, and the German counterrevolution executed KARL LIEBKNECHT and ROSA LUXEMBURG. The decline of the Second International's importance was evidence of the victory of nationalism over socialism.

Between the two world wars, at the same time as the rise of European fascism, there was also a growth of "humanist socialism," which stressed the moral aspect of social reforms. In 1951, the Socialist International endorsed "democratic socialism," an ideological platform of humanist principles for the European socialist parties. The United States lacked the conditions for the growth of socialism because of its unique history—the

absence of feudalism, the class structure including a broad middle class, the idealization of individualism, and the American way of life, in which capitalism enjoyed wide national acceptance. The national liberation movements of the Third World flirted briefly with socialism, mainly during the 1960s, but a developed socialism that is conscious of its power requires a minimal level of industrial, urban and technological development.

In the past few years European socialism has moved its struggle to the parliamentary arena and the trade unions. The Marxist notion of nationalization has been superseded by the concept of a mixed economy; the advocacy of a dictatorship of the proletariat by support for parliamentary democracy; the classless society by the welfare state; and the concept of revolution by a continuous, democratic struggle for emending the distortions of an acquisitive consumer society.